

3. Понятие в процессе познания выступает не как склад знаний и не как совокупность сведений о предмете, а как источник различных контекстов, в которых на первый план выступает то один, то другой существенный признак объекта. Следовательно, для полного раскрытия особенностей формы, значения и употребления единицы ее нужно «подать» в различных ситуациях. Текст как связное высказывание не всегда может это сделать, поэтому первостепенную роль при введении лексики на занятии играет контекст. Текст же более важен для самостоятельного накопления словарного запаса.

4. Вследствие того, что заимствованные единицы являются отражением изменений в жизни общества и культурного развития нации, студенты должны усвоить коннотативный, прагматический и культурный аспекты значения этих единиц, что наряду с пониманием формы позволит им употреблять эти слова по присущим японскому языку структурно-речевым образцам в подходящих ситуациях.

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А.В. Михайлова

Экспериментальное изучение влияния второго языка на речевое поведение взрослых русско-английских билингвов (Second Language Influence among Russian-English Late Bilinguals: Experimental study)

In less than a decade, the body of social and structural research on bilingualism and second language acquisition has grown considerably. Two important areas of recent research have been *codeswitching* and *first language (L1) attrition*, both of which are studied from a *structural* point of view. The key terms used in these studies are *first vs. second language* (order of acquisition); *primary/dominant vs. secondary language* (prevalence); *language shift*; *code-switching*, *convergence*, *attrition*, *incomplete acquisition*, and *loss*. *Language shift* refers to switch between the primary and secondary language, as is often the case in immigration. *Code-switching* refers to use of two languages within the same utterance or complementizer phrase (CP), while *convergence* refers to utterances in which the surface forms come from one language, but the abstract lexical structure comes from another language or from both [3]. *Attrition* is often viewed as incomplete competence [7], difficulty or inability to access, comprehend and produce L1 structures [1; 4], or as a general term referring to the process of first *language loss* in general. S. Montrul [2] distinguishes the generic term *language loss* from *L1 attrition* (loss of linguistic ability after L1 has been fully acquired) and from *incomplete acquisition* (lack of linguistic ability because the language was never fully acquired).

1. Literature review

Montrul's study of Spanish heritage speakers [2] makes the following claims: (1) first generation adult immigrants learning L2 and living in L2 context exhibit L1 attrition, while their children who are exposed to both L1 and L2 within the L2 context exhibit incomplete acquisition of L1.

In, perhaps, the most thorough study of what she calls American Russian (Russian spoken by adult early bilingual immigrants who have very little contact with L1 environment) Maria Polinsky [7] makes a very clear distinction between this *Reduced Russian* spoken by immigrants and *Full Russian* (which includes the standard variety and various lects) of monolingual speakers; she also separates the American Russian from the Émigré Russian, which is spoken by immigrants who maintain L1 environment within the L2 context.

This distinction can be further developed, as I suggest that non-immigrant Russian residents in the US might have another community variety, which is influenced by contact with English, but is not a reduced variety Polinsky discovered in her data. Non-immigrants, I expect, have stronger ties to Russian culture and because they consider themselves Russians in America rather than American Russians, their attempts to maintain full L1 and to avoid gross L1 attrition might succeed. However, due to excessive L2 input and L1 usage limited to speakers of the same domain, I predict, their non-native-speaker intuitions might be skewed under the influence of L2.

An important finding of Polinsky's project is that American Russian differs from Full Russian on the lexical, morphological, syntactic and discursive levels. Although Polinsky's main goal is to prove that signs and mechanisms of attrition in American Russian follow the rules of the Universal Grammar and are not language-specific, even her own discussion of findings allows interference of English as a possible interpretation of the deviant production. Regardless of reasons, the patterns she describes show *difficulty in lexical access*, *reduction of structural repertoire* and *lexicalization of certain grammatical phenomena* (a lot of the latter also occur in informal and vernacular varieties of standard monolingual Russian). In other words, although Polinsky's analysis does provide the typology of deviations (including code-switching) characteristic of language attrition, her analysis neither explains nor predicts order of attrition and has no explanation for the prevalence of changes on the morphological level.

Elena Schmitt's dissertation research [8] on early child bilinguals partially bridges the gap in Polinsky's analysis: she investigates the order of L1 attrition in bilingual children from a morphological point of view and predicts that code-switching is followed by convergence and then attrition. Schmitt's main finding is that while children are learning

L2 they are encouraged to learn new lexical items (content morphemes) and eventually the L1 equivalents of these items are suppressed. This situation leads to code-switching, where all the abstract lexical structure comes from Russian, which as the dominant language also provides the grammatical frame of the utterance (all grammatical system morphemes). Thus, in Russian-English code-switching, English as the *embedded language* provides only some content and perhaps some system morphemes.

(1) В **апартамент**-ах лучше не шуметь.

In **apartment** (PL.LOC) better not to.make.noise.

It's better not to be noisy in apartments. (my data).

SR: В **квартир**-ах лучше не шуметь.

In **apartment** (PL.LOC) better not to.make.noise.

In example (1), from my data the content morpheme «апартамент» is used instead of the Russian «квартира». The English content morpheme retains Russian number and case morphology. However, example (2) already shows a further stage in attrition, which is *convergence*. That is, some parts of the abstract lexical structure are supplied not only by Russian as the *matrix language*, but by the English as well. Even disregarding the semantic difference in the target and produced verbs, one can see that seemingly Russian «взять от» is in fact a loan translation of the English «to take from». Although the following noun agrees with this preposition in case, gender and number, the abstract lexical structure is nevertheless English. «От», the Russian equivalent of «from», conveniently for our speaker, uses the same agreement pattern, but literally and functionally means a different thing. While the target phrase «у Шрека» means «from his possession», the non-target «от Шрека» means «starting from».

(2) *Робин Гуд пытался Фиону **взять от** Шрека.

Robin Hood tried Fiona (ACC) **to.take FROM** Šrek (GEN).

Robin Hood tried to take Fiona (away) from Shrek.

SR Робин Гуд пытался Фиону **отнять у** Шрека.

Robin Hood tried Fiona (ACC) **to.take.away FROM** Šrek (GEN).

At this stage, on the surface the utterance may contain all Russian morphemes, with all three levels of abstract lexical structure projected from English. Note, the most important thing is that the abstract lexical structure of L1 is weakened and the abstract lexical structure of L2 starts participating in the production of the frame, which results in a composite language.

Schmitt suggests that convergence is followed by language shift, which in our case means that Russian-English bilinguals become English-Russian bilinguals in terms of dominance.

Pavlenko [5] compares Russian narratives of late adult bilinguals to those of the control groups (simultaneous Russian-English bilinguals and American L2 learners of Russian) and finds evidence of *borrowing transfer*, *shift*, *restructuring transfer*, and *L1 attrition*, but none of *convergence*. The participants showed less L2 influence in their L1 morphosyntax than in the lexicon. On the level of linguistic framing, all instances of L2 influence involved emotional reference, to show which the participants followed the English *adjectival* pattern instead of the Russian *verbal* pattern. Pavlenko argues that in reference to emotions the participants resorted to lexical and structural *shift* towards the English means of rendering the newly acquired feelings in the new environment. They also tended to simplify their Russian by *restructuring* their utterance modeling it after English and thus resulting in violations of semantic and syntactic constraints in L1 as well as in pauses, hesitations and personal comments on the difficulty of explaining certain cultural things in Russian terms.

Scott Jarvis [1], conducted a case study of L2 English influence on L1 use of Finnish, which involved recordings of spontaneous naturally occurring speech, elicited narratives, metalingual judgments (grammaticality and appropriateness judgments based on her own deviant production) and self-reports of an adult late bilingual ¹. The participant's judgments of her own and the native speakers' production were not always consistent with the explicit rules of Finnish she reported to know. However, Jarvis stresses that the participant's Finnish was affected by English only in limited areas of grammar, but mainly on the level of lexico-semantics. Since all deviations were «item-specific» and did not affect the whole system, since the participant could access, comprehend and use standard structures from L1, Jarvis claims her L1 is not deteriorating under the influence of English. Jarvis argues that the participant's seemingly deviant performance in Finnish is a result of expanded linguistic repertoire, and the L1 grammar or lexicon items are retained and occasionally substituted for related items from L2.

2. Research questions

In spite of the growing interest in the research of bilingualism, most studies fail to give an all-encompassing view of this phenomenon because they either generalize their findings to all bilingual groups, or narrow down their investigation to only some aspects of this phenomenon and apply their theoretical frameworks to limited groups, based on L1, age, type of bilingualism, etc. Second language acquisition research mostly investigates influence of L1 on L2 and the non-native speakers' strife for approximation of native-speakers. A lot of these studies that focus on language shift and attrition look primarily at early bilingual immigrants, who tend to lose their L1 «in exchange» for the acquired L2.

While Polinsky studies the reduced American Russian to prove universal features of language loss in late bilingual adults, Schmitt (2003) uses the predictive ability of Myers-Scotton's models [3] to explain and foresee the order of language attrition. All in all, these structural studies focus mainly on what kind of linguistic output the Russian early bilinguals produce and what inherent constraints or properties of the two languages they use make such output possible. It is still not clear whether these findings can be generalized to late bilinguals, and specifically to Russian EFL speakers who have been exposed to English for a long time, but whose L1 should be immune to attrition.

Pavlenko [4] and Jarvis [1], both notice more L2 influence on the lexical level than on the morphosyntactic level of adults' L1. Although Pavlenko finds signs of L1 attrition and Jarvis merely stresses non-systemic influence of L2, both suggest that adult bilinguals are multicompetent users of the two languages. Jarvis' findings also suggest that the participant's intuitions about the acceptability of certain L1 phenomena are at odds both with her own production and with the monolingual's acceptability judgments. However it is not clear whether in case of language contact acceptability judgments of non-immigrant EFL speakers will also be prone to influence of the foreign language.

In light of the issues discussed above, my study pursues to answer the following research questions:

- Is Russian of late bilingual adult EFL speakers affected by extensive exposure to L2?
- Does extensive language contact of late bilingual Russian EFL speakers affect their native-speaker intuitions?
- Will acceptability judgments reveal L1 vulnerability to L2 more on the lexical than on the morphosyntactic level? (Will the participants accept sentences with lexico-semantic deviations more than those with morpho-syntactic deviations?)

¹ The participant also showed more rigid SVO word order, which could be considered an influence of English.

- Will the participants with more similar Russian-English domains show more consistent acceptability judgments? (Will type and amount of L1 and L2 exposure affect performance?)

3. The Method

3.1. The participants

The participants of the study are 16 Russian-English late bilingual adults (26 to 57-years-old), who have been living in the US for the past 3—7 years. All the men are visiting scholars who have been doing graduate work or working at a US research institution all this time. Seven of the men have a PhD and one is ABD in Engineering. Five women have MA level education, and three have BA level education in different fields. While in the US, all the women have had to take English classes and are now working part-time or full-time, mostly outside their field. All couples belong to a rather closely-knit community of Russian families of PhD students and visiting scholars. Most of them interact on a regular basis. The purpose of their stay in the US is work or graduate education and they speak English at school and work and for other public interactions. However, all families speak Russian at home and with Russian-speaking friends. The instrumental and sentimental value of Russian culture and language is very high in the community. These people clearly distinguish themselves from immigrants and call themselves Russians in America rather than American Russians. The researcher is part of the community and therefore is able to have easy access to it.

3.2. The Testing Tool

The testing tool consisted in an acceptability judgment test, which was constructed based on the mistakes, produced by two early bilingual children from the same community. I chose my own elicited data rather than data reported by other researches for two reasons. First, these mistakes were both produced and evaluated by non-immigrant EFL speakers of English from the same community. Second, the results of this acceptability judgment tests could give insights on the peculiarity of L2 influence within this closely-knit community and also on what kind of feedback and, possibly, input the children of this community are likely to get from the adult speakers. Therefore these thirty sentences were taken from my study of the early bilingual children's semi-elicited production. Fifteen sentences served as distracters: according to the control group of monolinguals, they were acceptable¹. Fifteen sentences contained 5 target mistakes (3 tokens of each mistake): use of aspect, use of prepositions, loan translation of single words, loan translation of structures, and lexical borrowing. Below are samples of child production that were coded in the target sentences:

Lexical borrowing (code-switching):

- (1) В **апартамент**-ах лучше не шуметь.

In **apartment** (PL.LOC) better not to.make.noise.

It's better not to be noisy in apartments. (my data)

SR: В **квартир**-ах лучше не шуметь.

In **apartment** (PL.LOC) better not to.make.noise.

Loan translation of a single word:

- (2) *Робин Гуд пытался Фиону **взять** от Шрека.

Robin Hood tried Fiona (ACC) **to.take** FROM Šrek (GEN).

Robin Hood tried to take Fiona (away) from Shrek.

SR Робин Гуд пытался Фиону **отнять** у Шрека.

Robin Hood tried Fiona (ACC) **to.take.away** FROM Šrek (GEN).

Loan translation of a structure:

¹ Two sentences were considered unacceptable only based on the factual incongruity, not on linguistic properties.

- (3) *Шрек **ПРО СЕБЯ** только **думает**.
 Shrek **ABOUT SELF** (ACC) only **thinks**.
Shrek only cares about himself.
 SR: Шрек **О СЕБЕ** только **думает**.
 Shrek **ABOUT SELF**(LOC) only **thinks**.

Wrong use of prepositions:

- (4) *Мне не нравится быть **ВОЗЛЕ** очень многих людей.
 To.me not is.appealing to.be **NEXT.TO** very many(GEN) people(GEN).
I don't like to be around many people.
 SR: Мне не нравится быть **СРЕДИ/В ОКРУЖЕНИИ** очень многих людей.
 To.me not is.appealing to.be **AMONG** very many (GEN) people(GEN).

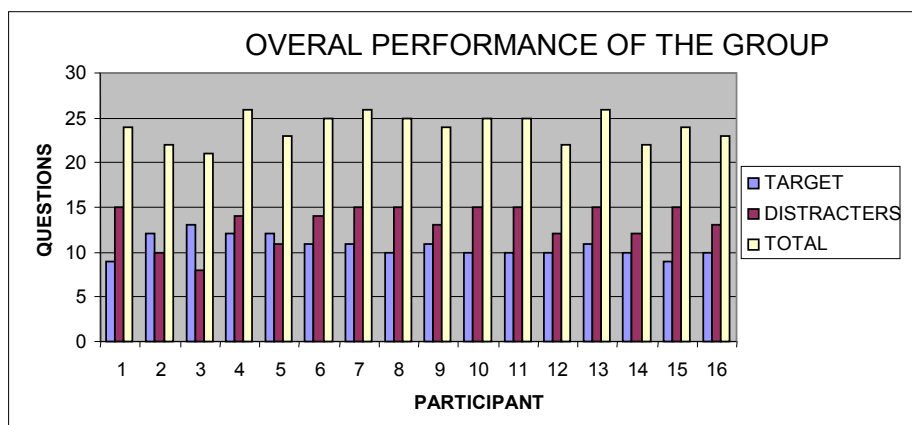
Wrong use of aspect:

- (5) *Фиона потом **любила** Шрека.
 Fiona later **love** (PAST.IMPERF. FEM) Šrek(ACC).
Fiona fell in love with Shrek later.
 SR: (a) Фиона потом **ПО-любила** Шрека.
 Fiona later **fall.in.love.with** (PAST.PERF.FEM) Šrek (ACC).
 SR: (b) Фиона потом **В-любила-сь** в Шрека.
 Fiona later **fall.in.love** (PAST.PERF.FEM) **IN** Šrek (ACC).

4. Discussion of Results

The study showed that while the overall performance of both gender groups was similar, none of the participants scored 100% target judgments (Graph 1). The participants' overall judgments of distracters were more accurate than judgments of target sentences, which is predictable.

<Graph 1>



Initially, distracters were not intended for coding and analysis, but since none of the participants scored 100 % target judgments and 12 % of acceptable sentences were marked as wrong and commented upon, I decided to consider them in further analyses (Graph 2, Table 1). These hyper-correct judgments could be a result of subjectivity of the testing tool and desire to help the researcher in every possible way; but they could also indicate skewed intuitions.

<Graph 2>

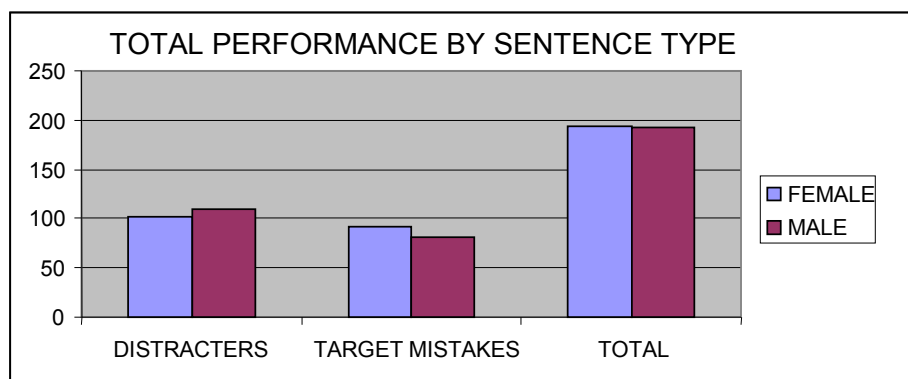


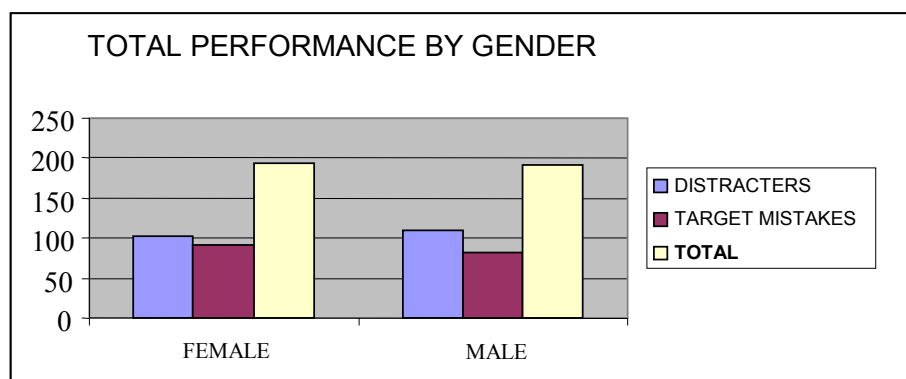
Table 1

One-Sample T-TEST(sentence type)

Sentence Type	Mean	Std. Deviation	95 % Confidence Interval	
			Lower	Upper
ALL DISTRACTERS	88 %	14.2984	81 %	96 %
ALL TARGET	71 %	7.5890	67 %	75 %
TOTAL	80 %	5.3705	77 %	83 %

Also, as expected, the study has shown different distribution of judgments by gender (Graphs 2, 3). Females outscored males in judgments of target sentences and were more prescriptive in their comments, which suggests lesser L1 vulnerability among the female participants.

<Graph 3>

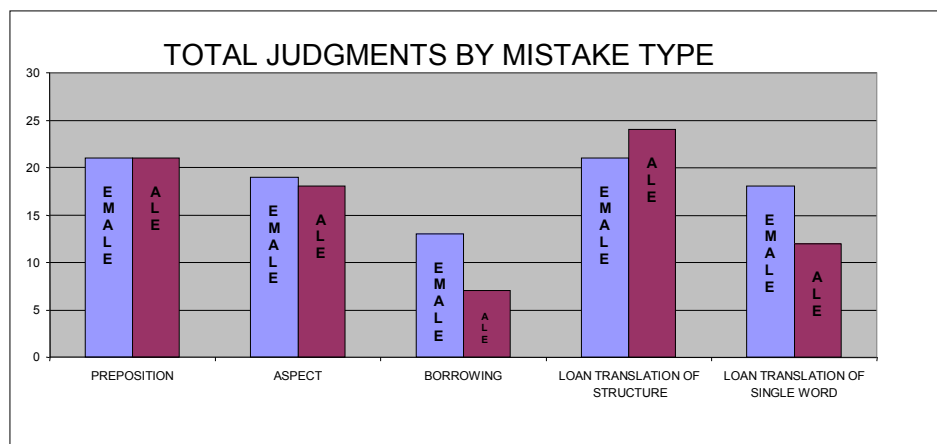


Although males outscored females in judgments of distracters, this is not necessarily a sign of better intuitions, but rather proof of a lower acceptability barrier. In other words, men are more lenient towards any type of production, while females, as proven by their comments, are more prescriptive. On one hand, this difference in judgment could be explained through stereotypical gender differences (men are less careful speakers than women). However, the overall similarity in results among male participants and diversity of results among female participants, suggests the idea that this gender difference has a different source.

The male group is more homogeneous in their perception of L1 because of a similar L2 influence because the men in this study indeed comprise a more homogeneous group in terms of length and types of L2 exposure and in distribution of linguistic domains. They all have better and longer English proficiency than their wives. Their full-time work in Engineering, besides usual peer interaction, involves a lot of reports, journal articles and conference presentations. At the same time most of the wives, who work part-time, as a rule, engage only in a limited range of interactions and scarcely ever write in English.

Graph 4 below supports the above mentioned conclusions and suggests that females are more sensitive to the lexical mistakes, while males are more sensitive to loan translation of structures.

<Graph 4>



While the former finding supports the conclusions in other studies that a general tendency is that L2 influence starts on the lexical level, the latter suggests that the men are aware of the influence of English and, trying to provide more accurate judgments, manage it only when the deviant production involves more than one word. This latter observation also suggests that loan translations of single words and loan translations of structures, although treated similarly by other researchers (as lexical mistakes), should be given separate consideration. The statistically significant difference in their salience even among male participants may mean that these phrases bear lexical and grammatical value and are perceived and, perhaps, produced differently.

Statistical analyses (T-Test and ANOVA) seem to support my preliminary findings. According to the T-test (Table 2), structural loan translations, prepositions, and aspect prevail in their salience for the Russian-English late bilinguals in my study. Lexical borrowings and translations of single words were least accurately judged, perhaps because they were structurally and phonologically incorporated into the matrix language.

Table 2

One-Sample T-test (mistake type)

<i>Sentence Type</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>95 % Confidence Interval</i>	
			Lower	Upper
PREPOSITION	88 %	23.9598	75 %	100 %
ASPECT	77 %	20.0693	66 %	88 %
BORROWING	42 %	22.7710	30 %	54 %

LOAN STRUCTURE	94 %	13.4371	87 %	100 %
LOAN WORD	60 %	25.0000	47 %	74 %

One-way ANOVA test (Table 3 and 4) of statistical significance in performance between female and male participants has shown the following. There is no statistically significant difference between male and female participants in the overall performance (total judgments) and in the judgments of distracters. This finding is, however, not crucial in terms of our research questions because the statistically significant difference in gender performance in judging the target sentences is far more important.

ANOVA TEST of gender differences

Table 3

<i>Mistake Type</i>	<i>P-value < 0.5</i>
PREPOSITION	1.000
ASPECT	.693
BORROWING	.022
LOAN STRUCTURE	.060
LOAN WORD	.014

Table 4

<i>Sentence Type</i>	<i>P-value < 0.5</i>
ALL DISTRACTERS	.369
ALL TARGET	.043
TOTAL	.883

Within the target mistakes there is statistically significant difference between male and female participants in the judgments of lexical borrowings and loan translations of single words. The test showed marginally significant difference in the judgments of loan translation of structures and no statistically significant difference in the judgments of aspect and prepositions.

Table 5 shows the mistakes that have been least salient in the participants' perception of Russian (less than 60 % correct judgments). The presence of an aspectual error in this table is not accidental and supports the existing research on the complexity of Russian aspect system. Firstly, as Pereltsvaig [6] suggests, telicity of verbs is a complicating circumstance in the marking of Russian grammatical aspect. Also, in support of Slabakova [9], telicity seems to be a lexical rather than grammatical phenomenon (sentence #22 only violates the rules of telicity, not aspect) and since the lexical intuitions of the participants are off, this sentence is misjudged by the majority of them.

Table 5

Distribution of lexical mistakes

<i>Sentence (by mistake type)</i>	<i>Correct Answers</i>
BORROWING #6	12.5 %
BORROWING #26	25. %
LOAN WORD #30	31.3 %
ASPECT #22	37.5 %
LOAN WORD #10	56.3 %

Table 6, on the other hand, supports my idea that loan translations of phrases cannot be treated in a similar way as calques of single words. Although the phrases are well-formed grammatically, the participants were far less tolerant of these than of single lexical loan translations or borrowings. This fact can be practically explained by high tolerance of standard Russian to loan words, as long as they are phonologically and morphologically assimilated into the Russian grammatical frame. Nevertheless, more tests are necessary with more instance of loan translation to make more conclusive generalizations.

Table 6

Distribution of structural mistakes

<i>Loan translation sentence</i>	<i>Correct Answers</i>
LOAN STRUCTURE #4	93.8 %
LOAN STRUCTURE #19	93.8 %
LOAN STRUCTURE #28	93.8 %

The findings above and the fact that 10% of all the judgments contained comments or corrections of word order, which is relatively free in Russian, with preference of SVO, prove that this group of speakers is indeed undergoing influence of English on their Russian. If we accept that the males are the more «exposed» group», this finding supports the existing idea that the amount of exposure to L2 correlates with influence of L2 on L1.

5. Conclusions

There are signs of L2 influence in non-immigrant native-speaker intuitions. None of the participants show expected native-speaker intuitions, even in judgments of target forms. The male group, the more homogeneous group with more extensive L2 contact, shows more effects of L2 influence than the less exposed female group. Acceptability judgment test shows L2 influence more on the lexical level than on the grammatical level, which is accompanied by lexicalization of some aspects of grammar.

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